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ABSTRACT

A review of the literature on teacher socialization reveals emphasis on two broad research categories: outcomes of teacher socialization, and factors that influence those outcomes. Research is consistent with respect to the outcomes of socialization. Progressive and liberal views that students adopt during college shift after their initial teaching experiences, and new teachers come to accept traditional values and attitudes toward education in order to work within the organizational system. The research on factors that influence the socialization process has been concentrated in three areas: university training, the school bureaucracy, and the impact of role models on the neophyte. Much research focusing on university training as a factor influencing socialization concludes that the neophyte is not adequately trained and has no choice but to conform to existing, traditional perspectives. The impact of the school bureaucracy teaches the neophyte that conformity to rules and regulations and adopting traditional teaching methods and values will bring acceptance and rewards. Role models within the school system have a great impact upon the beginning teacher's adoption of teaching strategies and values, and reliance on colleagues helps them learn to survive within the school system. Implications for future research are also described. (JD)

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TEACHER SOCIALIZATION IN THE EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

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This literature review focuses on teacher socialization in the education system. While agreeing that teachers adopt traditional methods and attitudes, the literature points to three different forces involved in the socialization process: university training, the influence of bureaucratic values and attitudes, and the impact of role models.

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Introduction

The process of teacher socialization has been given considerable attention within the last few years. Educators and social scientists alike recognize the importance of looking at the process whereby students learn to become teachers and are accepted into the school system. If we view the school as an organization, the process of socialization can be seen as necessary to the very success of the neophyte as s/he accepts or rejects the values of the educational system (Porter, Lawler and Hackman, 1974). There has been much theoretical and empirical work done on the socialization of teachers for all educational levels. For the purpose of this paper, however, only the work done on the socialization of teachers within the elementary and secondary levels will be covered.

Socialization as a process occurs continually throughout an individual's career (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979). The research on teacher socialization focuses almost exclusively on the introduction of the teacher into the system. As a result, this paper will focus only on the socialization process of the new members. Specifically, the purpose of this paper will be to review and classify the current literature on teacher socialization and to discuss implications for future research. Prior to the examination of the teacher socialization literature, it is necessary to

examine the operational concept of teacher socialization, and the major assumption underlying that concept.

Socialization as defined by Van Maanen and Schein (1979) is the process "by which an individual acquires the social knowledge and skills necessary to assume an organizational role" (p. 211). The definitions of teacher socialization found in the literature coincide very closely with this organizational perspective. Teacher socialization not only includes learning how to teach, but also an acceptance of the values, attitudes and interests of the teaching profession (Lacey, 1977). Crase (1979) uses Burlingame's definition of teacher socialization: "this process is one of learning, unlearning and adjusting new and old behaviors so that role occupants (new teachers) perform in such a manner that role expectations and institutional expectations are met" (Crase, 1979, p. 10). Teacher socialization, then, includes the training of the student as s/he acquires the skills necessary to become an educator, as well as the formal orientation period when the teacher first arrives at the school. Most of the research in teacher socialization assumes this definition. Some authors view the process as beginning during the individual's university training (Giroux, 1980; Hoy, 1968; Lortie, 1975; Pruitt, Lee and Marion, 1978), while others view socialization starting with student teaching (Friebus, 1977; Hoy and Rees, 1977; Pataniczek and Isaacson, 1981). Still others examine the socialization process of new teachers as they enter the school system (Becker, 1951; Eddy, 1969).

Teachers can be said to be socialized when they have conformed to the roles and attitudes as defined by the school organization (Crase, 1979). The socialized teacher, for example, not only performs certain behaviors deemed appropriate for his/her role, but also adopts certain attitudes with regard to student control, teaching strategies, and the overall goals of education. In order to measure the effects of teacher socialization, researchers have looked at changes in attitudes of the beginning teacher. Researchers have for the most part used instruments such as the Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory (MTAI) developed by Cook, Leeds and Callis (1947) and the Pupil Control Ideology (PCI) measure developed by Willower, Eidell and Hoy (1967). The MTAI measures the attitudes an instructor has toward student-teacher relationships, whether his/her approach to student control is more or less personal. In measuring the teacher's approach to classroom control, the PCI looks at the degree to which an instructor is humanistic in his/her orientation to discipline.

The major assumption underlying the socialization literature is that the school is an organization. Individuals within the school system are interdependent upon one another for the attainment of goals (Katz and Kahn, 1978). Students and teachers work together in the classroom, administrators and teachers coordinate daily schedules, and school boards work with administrators to establish general policies.

As organizations, schools can be viewed as either

loosely coupled systems or rational bureaucracies (Firestone and Herriott, 1982). The school as a loosely coupled system is viewed as an organization without clearly defined goals or a rigid authority structure. Parts of the organization are only minimally interdependent upon one another (Weick, 1976). Schools as rational bureaucracies are seen as social structures with clearly defined sets of goals. As bureaucracies, schools are perceived as having formal lines of control, each level having authority over the levels below it. Communication within this rigid hierarchal structure is vertical, flowing from the bottom levels to the top (Firestone and Herriott, 1982). Separate parts of the bureaucracy are highly integrated, each department contributing to the overall goals of the organization. The school as a rational bureaucracy is viewed as a closed system. Although school boards receive input from the public in regards to policies and curriculum, the final decisions are still made by administrators within the bureaucratic structure (Firestone and Herriott, 1982). The image of the school as a rational bureaucracy emerges more frequently in the literature on teacher socialization. Schools are viewed as bureaucracies with rigid administrations, set goals, and formal rules that determine the roles members within the organization are expected to fill (Becker, 1951; Eddy, 1969; Edgar and Warren, 1964; Firestone and Herriott, 1982; Helsel and Krchniak, 1972; Hoy and Rees, 1977).

Methods

Several steps were taken to conduct a systematic review of the research on teacher socialization. The author examined the last five years of the Education Index, from 1978-1983, in order to find the most current literature on teacher socialization. After these first sources were found, the author was able to determine, by looking at the bibliographies, what research done before 1978 was the most influential. Previous work was considered influential if it was cited in more than one study. The research done before 1978 was also included in the literature review.

Review of the Literature

The literature revealed two broad categories emphasized in the research on teacher socialization: the outcomes of teacher socialization and the factors that influence those outcomes. Although there is much agreement as to the outcomes of teacher socialization, the research focusing on the factors that influence the socialization process has been scattered. Much of the research has focused on the individual's university training as the primary factor influencing the socialization process (Giroux, 1980; Hoy, 1968; Lortie, 1975; Pruitt, Lee and Marion, 1978). Other research has focused on the school bureaucracy as the primary factor influencing socialization (Becker, 1951; Eddy, 1969; Helsel and Krchniak, 1972; Hoy and Rees, 1977). Another area of research has examined role models within the school system that influence the socialization of beginning teachers

(Leslie, Swiren and Flexner, 1977; Lortie, 1975; Pataniczek and Isaacson, 1981; Pruitt, Lee and Marion, 1978). The following literature review has been organized according to the outcomes of the socialization process and the three factors that influence those outcomes.

Outcomes of Socialization

The research is very consistent with respect to the outcomes of socialization. Researchers have found that the progressive and liberal views students adopt during college, shift after their initial teaching experiences (Zeichner and Tabachnick, 1981). New teachers come to accept traditional values and attitudes towards education in order to work within the organizational system (Becker, 1951; Eddy, 1969; Rothstein, 1979).

Day (1959) and Muuss (1969) both used the MTAI to measure whether there was a change in the attitudes of students after they had completed their educations and entered the teaching profession. Day (1959) administered the MTAI to college seniors upon completion of their intern programs, and again a year after they had graduated. He found that individuals scored significantly lower on the MTAI after a year of teaching. These lower scores represent a shift in the beginning teachers' attitudes regarding student-teacher relationships, from being humanistic to more custodial (e.g., impersonal) in nature. Scores of individuals who had not entered the teaching profession remained unchanged. From these results Day hypothesized that the

first year teachers had found their previous expectations unrealistic and adopted the more traditional attitudes towards teaching due to time and resource constraints.

Muuss (1969) administered the MTAI to students in a special pilot program designed for prospective elementary teachers. The inventory was given before classes began, after completion of the program coursework, and following a four and one-half month teacher internship. He found that the students' scores increased after completion of the academic portion of the program, indicating that the students' attitudes became more tolerant and humanistic. After completion of the internship, however, the students' scores dropped considerably, indicating a shift from the progressive view to a more traditional one. Muuss (1969) characterized this shift in attitude as resulting from frustration: "The initial demands of the school reality, discipline problems, finding oneself in and identifying with the new role of the teacher and the inability to immediately implement high educational ideals and ambitions apparently bring about a disillusionment, loss of idealism, and a return to more traditional attitudes, less tolerance, and less sympathy for children and for their behavior" (p. 188).

In their studies on the effects of teacher socialization, Hoy (1968) and McArthur (1978) also found a shift from liberal attitudes to more traditional views of education. Both of these authors used the PCI instrument to measure the changes in attitudes from being humanistic to more impersonal in orientation. Though colleges stress the

desirability of the democratic, humanistic orientation, Hoy (1968) found that the students became more custodial in their orientations just after eight weeks of student teaching. Students filled out the PCI prior to their eight weeks of in-class training, just after the internship, and then again one year after graduating. Hoy found that the level of custodialism increased with each successive period of teaching experience.

McArthur (1978) replicated Hoy's (1968) study in Australia by using the PCI. He gave the survey to 800 teachers prior to, and after, their first year of teaching. The beginning teachers perceived themselves as being more custodial after their first year.

Jacobs (1968) examined the change in attitude of students enrolled in an education program after their initial student teaching experiences. He used a 102 item questionnaire that was designed to evaluate the attitudes teachers have toward their social roles in problem situations. In comparing the scores for each student before and after their internship, Jacobs (1968) found that the liberal, more democratic points of view had been reversed by the student teaching experience.

These early studies, while not identifying specific factors that are involved in the socialization process, point to a progressive-traditional shift in professional perspectives as students are confronted with the conflicting demands of schools and universities (Zeichner and Tabachnick, 1981). Although students may adopt progressive, humanistic perspectives during college, these attitudes shift after their initial

student teaching experiences. Neophytes become more custodial in their attitudes towards discipline, choosing a less permissive, less democratic, more impersonal approach to maintaining classroom control (Hoy, 1968).

Factors That Influence Teacher Socialization

The research on the factors that influence the socialization process has been concentrated in three areas: university training, the school bureaucracy, and the impact of role models on the neophyte. Emphasizing varied aspects of the teacher's environment, these three perspectives account for the development of traditional attitudes in entirely different ways.

University training. Much of the research has been focused on the socialization process as beginning with the teacher's university training. Giroux (1980), Lortie (1975), Pruitt, Lee and Marion (1978), and Pataniczek and Isaacson (1981) examine the student's formal education as an important variable in the socialization process. Giroux (1980) argues that teacher education programs function as agencies of social control in which future teachers are "educated" to accept certain attitudes and skills. Teachers are only instructed as to what behaviors they must exhibit to fill their roles effectively. By educating teachers in this prescriptive manner, the university contributes to the formation of conservative attitudes. Not having developed their own critical thinking, the teachers can only conform to the already established attitudes of the profession.

Tabachnick, Popkewitz and Zeichner (1980) found that teacher conferences and seminars place an emphasis on techniques and for the same reasons, contribute to the formation of conservative attitudes.

Pataniczek and Isaacson (1981) cite studies by Schwanke (1980) in their discussion of the effects of university education on the socialization of teachers. These studies were conducted to find out what beginning teachers, having now been in the classroom, thought about their formal education. The teachers agreed on two main points. They felt their training at the university did not provide adequate preparation for handling discipline problems and that the coursework was too heavily weighted in theory and insufficient in practical application. Pataniczek and Isaacson (1981) argue that formal socialization into the teaching profession begins in these pre-service training programs before the student receives certification. By requiring students to take certain courses that inadequately prepare them for the classroom, the universities are not providing individuals with the tools needed to improve upon traditional methods of teaching. Finding they are not prepared, the teachers can only conform to existing methods of instruction.

Pruitt, et al. (1978) account for the willingness to conform as due to the lack of commitment from students going into education. Universities, in inflating the grades given in education courses, have attracted students into their programs who are not as committed to teaching as they are to

maintaining high grade point averages. These students are difficult to motivate to teach in a manner different from their previous role models.

Lortie (1975) suggests that the psychological isolation of students in the education programs initiates the socialization process. Students proceed through most education programs and internships on an individual basis. The absence of a "shared ordeal" in teacher education is the appropriate socialization for teachers, Lortie (1975) suggests, as they will be entering into an organizational system in which the members are isolated.

Research focusing on university training as a factor influencing socialization concludes that the training teachers receive is inadequate. University training does not adequately prepare the beginning instructor for the realities of teaching. Without the skills s/he needs to begin with, the neophyte relies on the methods of teachers who are already established in the school system. In adopting these existing teaching methods, the beginning teacher has no choice, but to conform to the existing, traditional perspectives.

School bureaucracy. The second area of emphasis in the literature on factors influencing teacher socialization, deals with the impact of the school bureaucracy. Research done by Hoy and Rees (1977) focused on the "school bureaucracy" and how it changes the attitudes and values of individuals once they begin to teach. In their study, they

examined the effects the student teaching experience had on individuals' bureaucratic orientation (the commitment to values and beliefs characteristically rewarded by bureaucracies; i.e., self-subordination and traditionalism), their pupil control ideology and levels of dogmatism. A survey was given to students prior to and just after their nine week student teacher experience in secondary schools. Hoy and Rees (1977) found that the student teachers became more bureaucratic in orientation and more custodial in their pupil control orientation. There was no change in their levels of dogmatism. From these results they concluded that, although the basic beliefs of students are not modified during initial teaching experiences, there are some important changes in orientation. The school bureaucracy quickly impresses upon teachers the need to conform to traditional values and practices.

Eddy (1969) focused on the formal induction of teachers into the school system. In her book based on interviews with individuals, she gives first hand accounts of teachers' experiences. Most schools start the formal socialization process of teachers with an orientation period. During orientation, the teacher learns what rules s/he is to follow, and becomes acquainted with the hierarchy of the organization.

Other aspects of the socialization process Eddy focused on are the patterns of behavior expected of teachers and the evaluation process. The school's culture entails specific patterns of behavior. Teachers are expected to follow

routine lesson plans and are instructed as to what types of materials they are to have in their classroom. In the evaluation process teachers are judged on their formal lesson plan, the beauty of their classrooms, and their ability to control students. From these observations, Eddy concluded that teachers are expected to conform to the values and patterns of behavior the school administration establishes. The success of the teacher is not judged by his/her ability to teach, but rather the ability to conform to established rules and to maintain an orderly classroom in which students follow "ritualistic patterns of behavior," expressing their subordinate positions to adults (Eddy, 1969, p. 44). These values and attitudes, resulting from the school system's desire to maintain a rigid structure, result in the traditional, less democratic orientations of teachers.

Like Eddy, Becker (1951) also found that the bureaucracy of the school has an impact upon the beginning teacher. From his interviews of 60 Chicago area teachers, Becker (1951) found that individuals learned to adjust to the hierarchy of the lower-class school and as a result could not transfer to other schools of a higher socioeconomic level. Besides adjusting to the hierarchical system, the teachers learned disciplinary techniques that insured their chances for survival. Those teachers who did not establish themselves in the school hierarchy or learn how to deal with students moved to other schools.

Helsel and Krchniak (1972) conducted a study to look at

the changes in the teacher's orientations as a result of his/her time spent in the school system. Focusing on measures of bureaucratic and professional role conceptions, Helsel and Krchniak (1972) hypothesized they would find a difference in the orientations between groups of student teachers and their more experienced colleagues. They hypothesized that students would be more professionally oriented, or concerned with their quality of teaching, while the experienced teachers would be more bureaucratically oriented, as they had already conformed to the school organization. The results of the study were opposite from what Helsel and Krchniak (1972) expected. Student teachers were found to be more bureaucratically oriented than the experienced teachers, while the levels of professional orientation were equal. Helsel and Krchniak (1972) concluded that the student teachers, being unprepared for the school system, were shocked into accepting the rules and regulations imposed by the organization.

The beginning teacher quickly learns that s/he is expected to conform to the values and practices of the school system. Neophytes find that they are not only rewarded for conformity to rules and regulations, but must adopt the traditional teaching methods and values if they are going to become accepted by their colleagues and respected as professionals.

Teachers as role models. The remainder of the literature on factors that influence socialization focuses on the

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individuals within the school system who act as role models for the neophyte. Socialization occurs through the internalization of teaching models during the many years students spend in close contact with teachers, from elementary school through college (Leslie, Swiren and Flexner, 1977; Lortie, 1975; Pataniczek and Isaacson, 1981; Pruitt, Lee and Marion, 1978).

Lortie (1975) was the first to point out the importance of these early role models in the formation of teachers' attitudes and values. As a student, an individual has been in contact with teachers for 15 to 16 years. This "apprenticeship of observation" shapes the student's conception of the teaching role. Leslie, Swiren and Flexner (1977) examined the influence of role models on the teaching practices of individuals. They administered questionnaires to teachers, asking them to rate the importance of role models in determining the adoption of educational values and goals. The influence of these previous role models is so great, Leslie, et al. (1977) concluded, it impedes instructional progress. Teachers are unwilling to adopt new strategies which could increase instructional productivity. Pruitt, et al. (1978) also found that teachers relied on strategies of previous role models. The results from an informal survey showed that, although they might have gone through "intensified and deliberate" training to the contrary, most student teachers taught according to "previously conceived role models." Rogus and Schuttenburg (1979), as well as Silverston and Deichmann (1974), make the same point

by concluding that students teach as they were taught.

Another type of role model for the teacher is that of his/her colleagues within the social system. Early literature on the student teaching experience has looked to the cooperating teacher, that individual directly responsible for the student's training, as the primary socialization agent (Friebus, 1977). These studies have used standardized instruments, such as the MTAI, to assess the degrees of change in student teachers' attitudes toward or away from their cooperating teachers. These studies have found that the attitudes and behaviors of the student teachers shift toward those of the cooperating teacher after initial teaching experiences (Zeichner, 1980).

Friebus (1977) conducted a survey study to determine whether there were agents of socialization involved in student training, other than the cooperating teacher. In a series of interviews with 19 teacher trainees, he found a number of persons, other than the cooperating teachers, who were important to the neophytes. Other teachers at the schools were found to be very important sources of ideas, (referred to as suggestions about what to do for a particular lesson or situation) (Friebus, 1977). In adopting their colleagues' ideas, the students are placing these teachers in the position of role models. In the school system Rothstein (1979) examined, the neophytes had to use their colleagues as role models to learn how to survive. In this ghetto school, the newcomers were expected to model themselves after veteran teachers in order to learn the

strategies to help them maintain "control" in the classroom.

The degree to which a colleague has influence upon the neophyte was studied by Edgar and Warren (1969). They found that the "significant other," the colleague having the "greatest power to sanction or evaluate" the neophyte's behavior, will have an influence upon the beginning teacher, depending upon resources and the degree of affect between the two. The amount of resources or skills the neophyte had was related to the degree to which s/he was influenced. Those beginning teachers with more experience and skills tended to be more independent and demanded more autonomy. The level of affect, the degree to which the neophyte and his/her colleague liked one another, seemed to also affect the socialization process. Those teachers who liked the colleague by whom they were trained were more willing to adopt the attitudes and behaviors of this colleague if there was a reciprocal degree of liking. Teachers are more likely to act as role models if they are in a position to evaluate the beginning teacher and have established a friendly relationship with him/her. Role models within the school system have a great impact upon the individuals' adoption of teaching strategies and values. Individuals not only teach as they were taught, but rely on colleagues as well to help them learn the keys to survival within the organizational system.

Implications For Future Research

The literature points to three major forces involved in

the socialization process: university training, the influence of bureaucratic values and attitudes, and the impact of role models. If these variables are fit into the model of organizational socialization developed by Porter, et al. (1974), they fall into two of three phases. Before the individual arrives at the organization, s/he has expectations that serve as the starting point of the socialization process. This pre-arrival stage is illustrated in the university training, as well as in the influence of previous role models. The second phase of the model is called the encounter phase. This phase is the period in which the individual enters the organization and is introduced to the values and expectations the system holds. The notion of bureaucratic attitudes and role models in the school would fit into this second phase as the neophyte discovers what behaviors the organization expects him/her to perform and what is valued by administrators. In the last phase of the socialization process, called change and acquisition, the individual begins to adopt the values and attitudes of the organization. The work done in teacher socialization does not neatly fit into this phase. Although the literature is consistent in concluding that there is an adoption of traditional methods and attitudes towards student-teacher relationships, there is not agreement as to when this process takes place. Some conclude that the socialization process has been progressing since the child entered the school system, while others view it as commencing with the student teaching experience. The litera-

ture, in focusing on the outcomes of socialization, does not look at the actual process to determine when these traditional values and methods are accepted. Eddy's (1969) work comes the closest to examining the process, by providing accounts of what happens in the first few days as the teacher enters the school system. These descriptive accounts give a better idea as to what methods of socialization are being used by the school system itself. More descriptive field studies need to be done in order to look at the process of socialization during the formal training period and initial introduction to the school.

Another approach that needs to be taken in examining the process of teacher socialization is to focus on other variables in the teacher's environment that could be affecting his/her acceptance of certain teaching methods and values. Copeland (1980) conducted a study of ecological factors in the classroom. He concluded that factors, such as class size, had an effect upon the student teacher's attitudes and behaviors. By virtually ignoring the role of the classroom and students, the literature has overlooked important factors that may be contributing to the socialization process of teachers.

A final direction to be taken in attempting to view the socialization process would be to adopt the image of the school as a loosely coupled system (Weick, 1976). In adopting this perspective, a greater focus is placed on the classroom. Classrooms viewed as being isolated from administrative influence have their own goals and values that

in turn affect the teacher's belief structure. Viewed as a loosely coupled system, the school is considered an open system. As a rational bureaucracy, the school is viewed as a closed system, free from the politics of the school board or parent groups. In attempting to look at all the variables that could be affecting the socialization process, it is necessary to examine the influence of outside forces in the school districts. Pressure from parental groups plays a major role in determining how children are taught. We frequently read about the PTA group that is fighting for a return to the basic subjects, or the group that does not believe health education should be included in the curriculum. Teachers, meeting parents in groups and conferences, are exposed to these different values and expectations. These, too, have an effect upon their attitudes and behaviors.

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